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Johannes Warda

Keeping West Berlin "As Found": Alison Smithson, Hardt-Waltherr Hämer and 1970s Proto-Preservation Urban Renewal

On March 18, 1963, Willy Brandt, Governing Mayor of West Berlin, launched one of Germany's first and largest urban renewal[1] projects in Berlin's Wedding working class district, which would entail the demolition of 56,000 apartments in the Berliner *Mietskasernen* (tenement blocks). Brandt, who later became West Germany's first Social Democratic chancellor, sought to accomplish the solution to the "social question". The renewal policy epitomized the Social Democrats' aversion to nineteenth-century housing conditions. This event in March 1963 marked the beginning of a series of similar renewal projects in other parts of Berlin and all over Europe – almost all of which were never executed in their uncompromising final totality. While, from today's perspective, one would credit the preservationist protests at the time for retaining the old city, a closer look at urban renewal practices and the role historic preservation ideas played in them reveals, if not a different, at least a more complex story.

Despite the obvious phenomenological presence of history in European cities today, this essay questions the reading of a turn to history as a formal and ideological tendency in the first place. The citing of history at a particular

point in time, I argue, does not necessarily involve history as such. Looking at the agents and undercurrents of this turn, I unravel the multifaceted story of the transformation of the historical monument into a utilitarian materialism, which went beyond the nineteenth-century concept of the monument as a constituent of national identity, or as a matter of arts and aesthetics, towards a broader notion of the building stock as a social and material resource in times of environmental crisis.

To support this reading, I analyze the re-evaluation of historic structures in the city of West Berlin during the 1960s and 70s, drawing on three case studies. Two of them are examples of publicly commissioned research on the building stock in the early years of urban renewal: Hardt-Waltherr Hämer's renewal research projects in the Wedding district, which reveal the mechanisms and effects of what I call "proto-preservation" renewal, and Josef Paul Kleihues's *Berlin-Atlas*, which recorded the image of the renewal areas on the basis of urban history, typology and ornament. The third case concerns design interventions in the existing city proposed by leading architects and theoreticians during a symposium at the *Internationales Design Zentrum Berlin* (IDZ), which took place at the height of heritage awareness during the European Heritage Year of 1975.

Inside the Urban Renewal Laboratory: Berlin, 1963–1987

Right from the beginning, urban renewal in Germany had its "Jane Jacobs moments". The new building complexes in the *Gründerzeit* districts and social housing estates in the urban periphery were met with a wave of criticism from architects, scholars and intellectuals as soon as ground was broken.[2] However, before the idea of keeping the existing city even drew the attention of official preservation institutions, architects and planners were already experimenting with careful renewal alternatives. Paradoxically, the Senate of West Berlin as the organ responsible for initiating the comprehensive urban renewal projects also funded research on the existing building stock, fostering the quest for alternatives to demolition. As part of the Wedding district renewal, the Senate commissioned several reports and planning proposals by architectural schools in West Berlin and West Germany.[3] In 1968, while construction work was already underway on some plots in the renewal area, the Senate commissioned three working groups to redesign the Brunnenstraße/Swinemünder Straße neighborhood, which had originally been slated for demolition. The architect Hardt-Waltherr Hämer headed one of these working groups. Appointed professor of architecture at the *Hochschule für Bildende Künste* Berlin just one year earlier, Hämer set out to shift the focus of urban renewal from demolition to repair and reuse. More than a decade

later, his efforts resulted in the so-called *Altbau* (historic buildings) branch of the International Building Exhibition Berlin 1987 (IBA).[4]

Hämer's design proposal, which called for the rehabilitation of the existing apartments, caused the Senate to initiate further research into alternative renewal strategies. By December 1970, Hämer's group presented plans to refurbish three tenement buildings on block 235, Putbusser Straße where it meets Ramler Straße. Keeping the buildings, the group argued, would be more sensitive to the needs of the tenants, especially the many elderly residents, and would comply with the city's beautification and other building codes.[5] The section of Berlin's building code in question here states that the building stock is to be maintained and slightly improved in order to meet changing sanitary and living standards. The reality at the peak of demolition renewal was, however, altogether different. Although Hämer's findings and some of the existing building legislation favored rehabilitation over new buildings, it had little effect on the practice of renewal at that time. Planning procedures and financial tools remained tailored to constructing new buildings until well into the 1970s. As a consequence, Hämer changed the focus of his pre-planning research from spatial analysis of the urban context to the architectural structure itself. The material value, he believed, would be an important factor in bypassing the mechanisms of conventional urban renewal.[6]

Meanwhile, Hämer made the building costs research in the Wedding case one of the first projects at the *Institut Wohnen und Umwelt* (Institute for Housing and Environment) in Darmstadt, of which he was one of the founding directors, together with Egon Eiermann and Alexander Mitscherlich.[7] Hämer's group developed a prognostic tool, which enabled private investors and the public building administration to estimate the rehabilitation costs of the typical Berlin *Gründerzeit* tenements. Based on a thorough building survey, which took into account literally every material component down to the nails, the tool aimed to refute the prevailing general assumption that there was no remaining value in the *Gründerzeit* structures at all. In Hämer's projects, rehabilitation costs ranged between 38 and 112 per cent of the costs of a substitute building (fig. 1). The survey tool eventually became part of the statutory urban renewal regulations of the State of Berlin, providing an early quantitative basis for repair-oriented approaches to urban renewal.[8]

A similar approach to *Gründerzeit* housing was developed in East Berlin only little later, with the well-known Arkonaplatz reconstruction. In the early 1980s, the *Bauakademie* of the GDR established a research center for preservation and rehabilitation. To accomplish the 1973 housing plan promise of 3 million more habitable flats by 1990, rehabilitation was a badly needed option. In 1987, a study introduced a housing management and mainte-

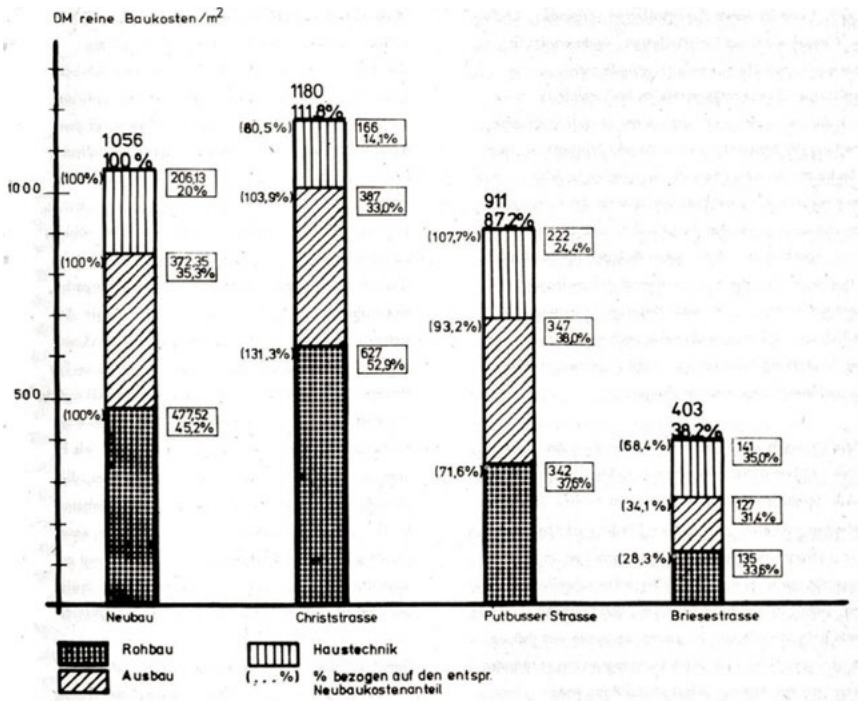


fig. 1 Berlin Wedding urban renewal, comparison of building costs, ca. 1975. Source: Hardt-Waltherr Hämer and Marie-Brigitte Hämer-Buro, *Altbauerneuerung in Sanierungsgebieten. Untersuchung von Modellvorhaben in West-Berlin: Ergebnisbericht zum Forschungsauftrag "Kostenanalyse der Modell-modernisierung von Altbauten"* (Berlin: Arbeitsgruppe Stadterneuereung, 1975), 101.

nance concept under the telling title of planned pre-emptive maintenance, or "Planmäßig vorbeugende Instandhaltung (PVI)."[9]

Another research project that paved the way to careful renewal and keeping the old city in West Berlin was the *Berlin-Atlas zu Stadtbild und Stadtraum*.[10] Commissioned by the Senate of Berlin and published by Josef Paul Kleihues in 1973, the *Berlin-Atlas* contains a thorough evaluation of the facades and streetscapes in the Charlottenburg and Kreuzberg renewal areas. It was intended as a practical tool to complement the existing preservation legislation that, according to Kleihues and the Senate, was unable to meet the challenges posed by the vast number of renewal projects. The *Berlin-Atlas* aimed to record both architectural and socio-spatial qualities.

Framing them historically, the authors compiled one of the few thorough accounts of Berlin's urban history at that time. Most importantly, it presented a set of maps, which provide an evaluation of the morphological and visual qualities of every building and its street facades, recommending either preservation or demolition (fig. 2). Despite the depth of the contextual analysis, the

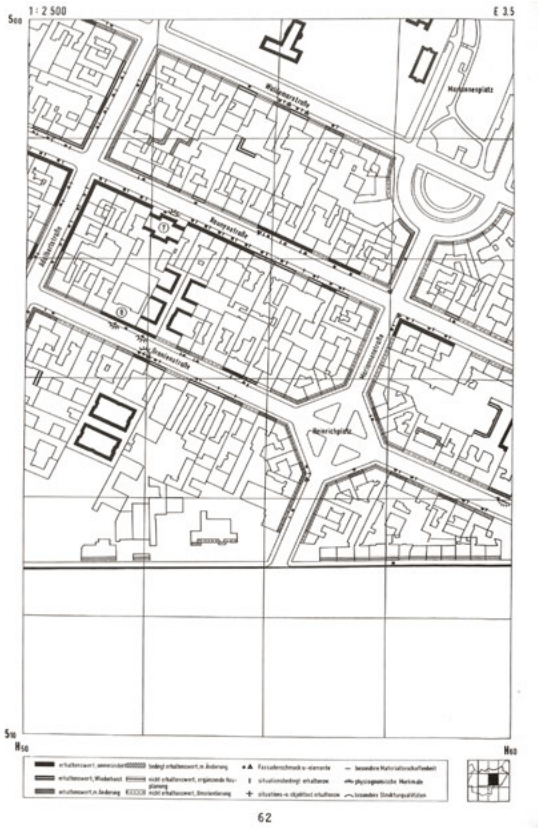


fig. 2 Berlin-Kreuzberg, Luisenstadt, mapping of facade evaluations for Block 77 in Josef Paul Kleihues's *Berlin-Atlas*, 1973. Source: Josef Paul Kleihues, *Berlin-Atlas zu Stadtbild und Stadtraum. Bd. 2: Versuchsgebiet Kreuzberg* (Berlin: Senator für Bau- und Wohnungswesen des Landes Berlin, 1973), 62.

Berlin-Atlas only deemed an average of 30 per cent of the existing buildings worth keeping. It wasn't until the late 1970s that anti-demolition protests and house squatting added a new twist to the discourse on urban renewal, causing the Senate of Berlin to gradually abandon the demolition dogma. Yet how "careful" urban renewal should be was still left to be explored by the IBA. The focus of the initial debates on initiating an IBA was on filling the city's many vacant lots and brownfield sites. By the time the IBA was finally ratified by the parliament of Berlin, more emphasis was put on the existing city – with the twofold approach of new building and urban repair which the IBA became famous for. Kleihues and Hämer as the two IBA directors embodied the dual nature of this enterprise. "Repairing the city," Julius Posener wrote about the IBA, "teaches us how to habituate ourselves to the existing environment and helps to bring about new forms of community life."[11]

Architects in Context: The "Berlin Alt und Neu" Symposium, 1975

Several years before the IBA, and a couple of years after Hämer's Wedding case study, another architectural event marked West Berlin's status as a laboratory for alternative renewal strategies. At that time, in the mid-1970s, the renewal discourse had begun to shift in favor of preservation. Now that the existence of the historic city was no longer threatened *per se*, architects faced the task of designing its revival. This was the overall context in which Heinrich Klotz, then professor of Art History at Marburg University and soon-to-be founding director of the *Deutsches Architekturmuseum* (DAM) in Frankfurt, invited a group of international architects to sketch out their ideas for Block 77 in the Kreuzberg renewal area. The symposium, again, was a publicly commissioned event – by the *Senator für Bau und Wohnungswesen* – with explicit reference to the European Heritage Year and it took place under the label of the *Berliner Festspiele*.

In his opening remarks, Klotz discussed the concept of historicity in architecture as a matter of perception, rejecting the notion of "old" and "historic" as referring to material decay only. The criterion for a building's historicity, Klotz argued, "is its reception by the inhabitants and their ability to recognize it through the times – and evaluate it aesthetically."[12] Another criterion, according to Klotz, was what he called the "visual durability" of the built environment which creates emotional bonds with the city: "even the ugliest building can be more than welcome in a neutral and monotonous environment." Nevertheless, it is clear that a re-appraisal of the historic city had taken place since the mid-60s. As Klotz argued, "architecture today must take into account the meaning of the historic city. […] The ways in which modern architecture interacts with the old city […] must be the focus of the *Zweite Moderne* [sic], as a counterpart to the functionalism of the building economy." With this, Klotz set the agenda for the symposium. The schedule of the five-day event reflected his own presuppositions about designing in the old city:[13]

Following excursions to the site of Block 77, there were two days of expert input and three days of designing and discussing the results. André Corboz[14], Christian Norberg-Schulz[15] and the Berlin State Conservator, Hartmut Engel[16], gave theory lectures prior to a design studio phase. Corboz presented a typology of architectural interventions in the existing city focusing on the terms "recycling" and "reanimation," while Norberg-Schulz presented his concept of "genius loci" – that is, that every place has its own innate specific character. Architecture, he argued, is the manifestation of the genius loci and therefore has to be intrinsically "adaptive."[17] Hartmut Engel's input resonated with Klotz's initial remarks and his own understanding of preservation. After



fig. 3 Berlin-Kreuzberg, Luisenstadt, location of Block 77, 2015. Source: mapping by author, not to scale.



fig. 4 O. M. Ungers, facade abstractions. Source: *Lotus International* 13 (1976), 50f.

offering a brief history of the Luisenstadt district and its tenement housing, Engel called for a broadening of the focus of historic preservation from the single object to the "Quartier" in which the life of the community takes place.[18] In short, the symposium took the time to undertake a close analysis of the urban issues in question.

The site of the proposed interventions, Block 77, is a typical situation within the fabric of Berlin's *Gründerzeit* tenement housing (fig. 3). Located in north-east Kreuzberg, in the so-called Luisenstadt neighborhood, it extends to the south into the regular grid of this area. The block's north side borders the Bethanien hospital grounds, and its concave north-east corner shapes part of the Mariannenplatz. The perimeter of the block (in 1975) was formed by tenement buildings, some extending back into courtyards in the block interior, with apartments and workshops, and a dance hall (accessible from Naunynstraße 27) – a perfect example of the so-called *Kreuzberger Mischung*.[19]

At the time of the symposium, 1454 people lived in apartments in the block, and a then state-of-the-art renewal proposal suggested a strategy of *Blockentkernung* – of clearing the interior of the block – which would have slated seventy per cent of the apartments for demolition.[20] The assignment of the symposium was to deal with the buildings on Adalbertstraße 21–23, on the north-west corner of the block.

Despite the preservationist undertone of the symposium, the design assignment produced a variety of approaches which can be roughly clustered into two groups.[21] First, an inductive approach, inferring general design rules

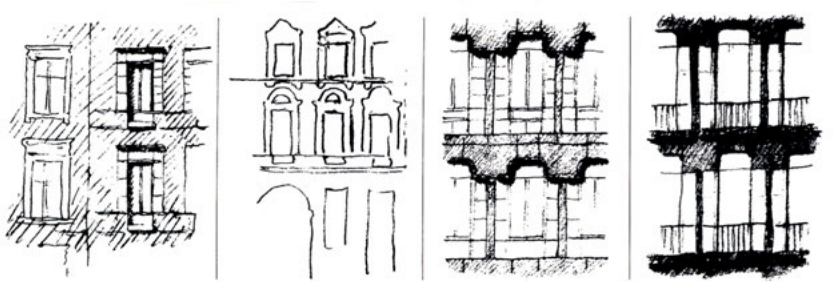


fig. 5 Gottfried Böhm, deduction and interpretations of facade designs for Block 77. Source: *Lotus International* 13 (1976), 34.

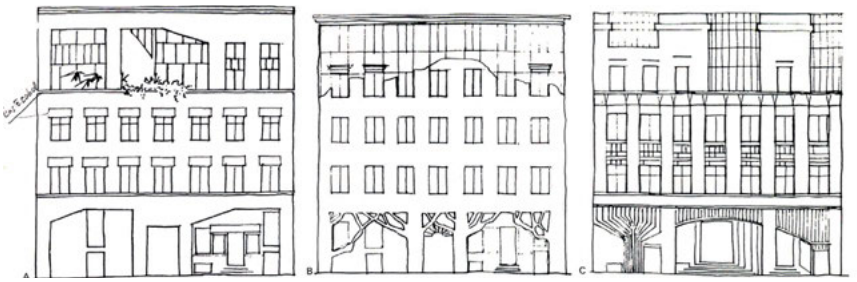


fig. 6 Charles Moore, facade designs for Block 77. Source: *Lotus International 13* (1976), 37.

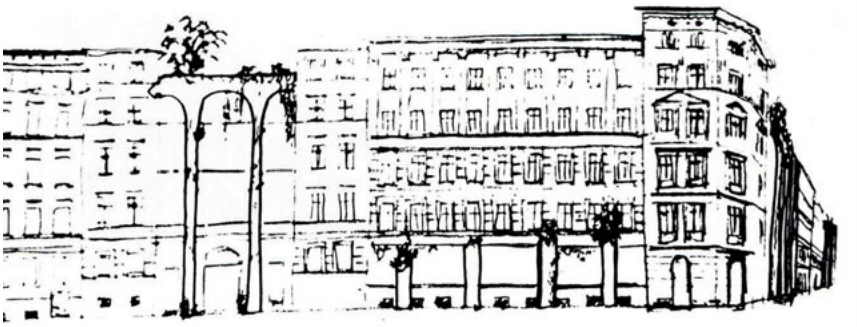


fig. 7 Alison Smithson, north elevation of Block 77. Source: *Lotus International* 13 (1976), 47.

from a close analysis of the site and its characteristics, as applied by O. M. Ungers (fig. 4) and Vittorio Gregotti. Second, a more deductive approach, departing from general assumptions about the found architecture and how to approach it, as applied by Gottfried Böhm, Charles Moore and Alison Smithson (figs. 5–7). Gregotti's and Smithson's design proposals serve as examples of the two approaches:

Gregotti started off with a thorough analysis of the urban context to identify the challenges it poses (fig. 8). He emphasized the importance of the exist-

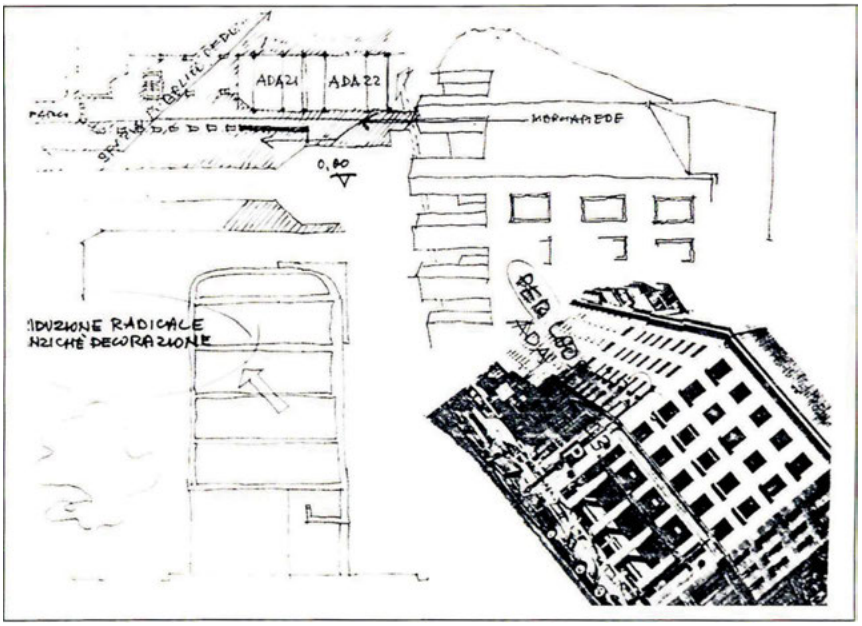


fig. 8 Vittorio Gregotti, concept sketch. Source: *Lotus International* 13 (1976), 43.

ing morphology of the block in terms of its social functions, fostering class diversity and serving as social memory. His intervention was partly guided by a preservationist attitude: keeping the existing structure, but reorganizing the interior of the block and redefining the relationship between inside and outside. In Gregotti's sketch, the buildings on the perimeter of the block become an architecture of facades, which serve only the passing pedestrian, while residential life takes place on the inside. The language of Gregotti's design reflects its social concept: new gateway structures inserted into the perimeter connect the interior with the streetscape. Tube-like skywalks reach out to the adjacent blocks so that Block 77 becomes an urban organism turned inside out, a spatial shell within the fabric of the city (fig. 9). To strengthen the impression of the architectural cohesion of the block, Gregotti removed the Gründerzeit ornamentation from the facades of the preserved buildings.[22]

Alison Smithson's approach is more associative and poetic. Working with the city "as found," as Smithson calls her intervention, she contemplated a historic section of one of the tenement buildings in which she found the secret language of the German Renaissance, its paintings, religious imagery, and the presence of planks and timber.[23] To carry the "as found" forward, she proposed closing the perimeter of the block with a wooden structure reminiscent of Roman viaducts (fig. 7). The viaduct bridges two deteriorated buildings

on the block, as if the wooden supporting structure of the block had been stripped of the facades.[24] In her design, the material integrity of the existing architecture does not seem to be important for capturing the spirit and language of the place. Instead, it serves as the point of departure for a new idea – and thus, as a material and cultural resource to work with.

The symposium was widely reported in the media. Most notably, the news magazine *Der Spiegel* published a review speaking of the disillusionment with contemporary architecture and its inability to adapt to the historic city, arguing that even Potemkin would have done a better job. The proposed designs, according to the critic, were far too "sophisticated" for Kreuzberg.[25] And yet the symposium is an important testimony to a tipping point in architecture. It represents a change in attitude towards the old city in which new architecture does not necessarily need the city's physical remains to engage with history, and which employs adaptation rather than contrast. In that sense, the design proposals contrasted with the then prevailing paradigm of so-called *Neues Bauen in alter Umgebung*, which was in line with the general design guidelines of the Venice Charter of 1964.[26] Instead, the architectural dispositions of the symposium presented a picture-book illustration of the discourse on place in architecture, offering insight into the toolbox of *genius loci* design: the architects and theorists that Klotz had invited to consider a *Gründerzeit* block in Berlin defined, through site analysis, history and its abstraction, context as a parameter of new architecture.

Conclusion

Today, the rise in awareness for the historic city in the 1970s is often seen as a victory of historic preservation over urban renewal. But traditional preservation values were not sufficient to defend historic environments against demolition renewal and developers. In 1970s Germany, monuments still referred primarily to churches, castles and town halls. Accordingly, the main concern of the European Heritage Year was to present the old and picturesque city.[27] It was left to emerging grassroots initiatives to eventually expand the heritage concept to architectural typologies and styles of the everyday (one of which was, well into the 1990s, *Gründerzeit* architecture) by pointing out that heritage also referred to a place of residence.[28] In other words, it was the sociopolitical dimension of urban renewal that made people take to the streets. This raises a couple of questions. Firstly, there is the issue of agency: Who turns to history, and why? And secondly, there are formal and topological questions: Which history, and where? What does it look like?

To conclude, I would like to return to my question at the outset concerning the paradigm of reference to history. On the one hand, we can observe

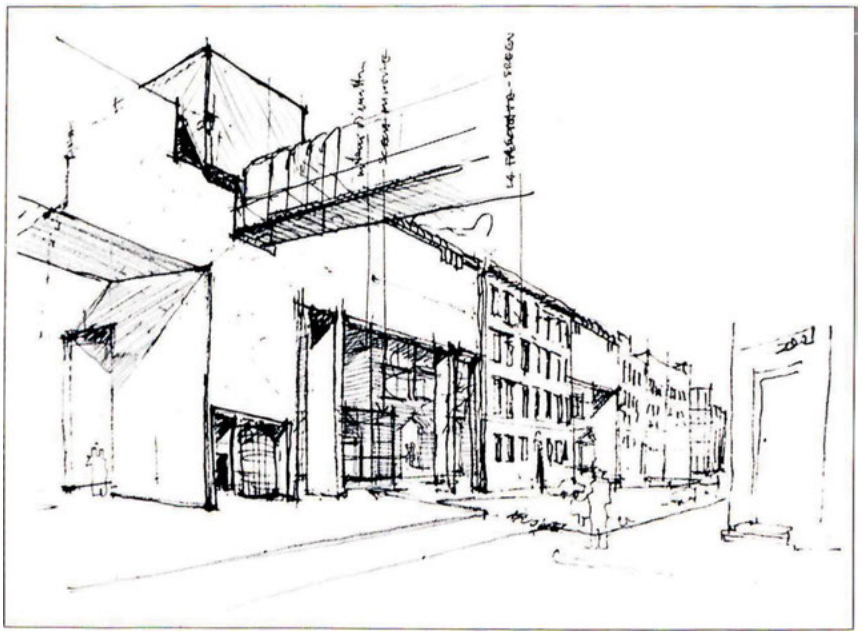


fig. 9 Vittorio Gregotti, view of Block 77 and skywalk. Source: *Lotus International* 13 (1976), 42.

a turn to the physical remains of history and the reappraisal of characteristic architectural features at all scales. With regard to the legacy of the European Heritage Year, one might also think of the re-discovery of the old city (*Altstadt*), the invention of the heritage district (Ensemble), and the victory of careful urban renewal (*Behutsame Stadterneuerung*) over the dogma of demolition. In that sense, the turn to history was a success story. And yet one that turned all too quickly from a preservationist approach into a nostalgic preoccupation with the old city and the urban design practice of "vintage" (as with blue jeans: not old, but aged).

On the other hand, it seems that preservation politics and planning programs such as the IBA 1987 were credited for their careful approach to renewal and site-inspired architectural designs, in which architects and local communities did not necessarily seek to restore the historical, but turned to the (still) existing city for pragmatic reasons, valuing it both as a social and material resource.[29] Finally, alternative renewal concepts, which emphasized building cost savings and material values over historical values, appealed to public and private decision-makers in the capitalist-driven renewal sector – just, as Hämer had shown slightly before the turn to history.

Endnotes

1 The term "urban renewal" refers to the official policy of the Senate and the practice of demolition and reconstruction which is commonly attributed to it at that time. To better distinguish it from alternative forms of careful renewal, the term "demolition renewal" will be used synonymously for the remainder of the chapter.

2 The negative discourse concerning modern mass housing in Germany was fueled by the fact that the main building projects at the periphery of West Berlin in the 1960s and 70s were indeed challenged by technological problems during construction. "Crumbling even before the paint was fully dry," as was reported widely in the rainbow press to *Der Spiegel* magazine. See Florian Urban, *Tower and Slab: Histories of Global Mass Housing* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), 59–65.

3 *Anlage I zum Projektvorschlag Stadterneuerung*, UdK-Archiv, Berlin, 115/I/605.

4 *IBA Altbau* brought careful urban renewal strategies to the Kreuzberg district, cooperating with the squatters' movement and grass roots organizations. Alongside Josef Paul Kleihues, who was responsible for the new IBA architecture projects, Hämer as the director of IBA Alt soon went by the name of "saviour of Kreuzberg." Cited in Rudolf Schilling, "Behutsame Stadterneuerung," in *Stadt im Kopf: Hardt-Waltherr Hämer*, ed. Manfred Sack (Berlin: Jovis, 2002), 179. On Hämer see also Helga Fassbinder, "Einleitung," in *Hardt-Waltherr Hämer: Architekt HBK. Behutsame Stadterneuerung*, eds. Michael Bollé and Karl-Robert Schütze (Berlin: Universität der Künste, 2007). For an account of the IBA history see Harald Bodenschatz, Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani and Wolfgang Sonne, eds., *25 Jahre Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin 1987: Ein Wendepunkt des europäischen Städtebaus* (Sulgen: Niggli, 2012).

5 *Modelluntersuchung Rehabilitation Berlin-Wedding, Putbusser Straße/ Ramler Straße*, UdK-Archiv, Berlin, 115/I/610.

6 Hardt-Waltherr Hämer and Marie-Brigitte Hämer-Buro, *Altbauerneuerung in Sanierungsgebieten: Untersuchung von Modellvorhaben in West-Berlin: Ergebnisbericht zum Forschungsauftrag "Kostenanalyse der Modellmodernisierung von Altbauten"* (Berlin: Arbeitsgruppe Stadterneuerung, 1975), 8.

7 *Protokoll der Arbeitssitzung vom 29. Juni 1972. Fallstudie Wedding*, UdK-Archiv, Berlin, 115/I/605.

8 *Modernisierung oder Abriß? Entwurf einer Methode zur Ermittlung der Modernisierungs- und Instandsetzungskosten*, UdK-Archiv, Berlin, 115/I/60.

9 See *Wohnung, Gebäude, Wohnumwelt: Modernisierung von Altwohnbauten der Baujahre 1870–1918, Teil 1* (Berlin [DDR]: Bauakademie der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Institut für Wohnungs- und Gesellschaftsbau, 1982), 117.

10 Josef Paul Kleihues, *Berlin-Atlas zu Stadtbild und Stadtraum. Bd. 2: Versuchsgebiet Kreuzberg* (Berlin: Senator für Bau- und Wohnungswesen des Landes Berlin, 1973), 7; 9. The authors' reluctance to apply historic preservation instruments already in place in the 1970s sheds light on the weak position of preservation institutions in the process of urban renewal. Yet why there is no reference to the so-called protected areas (*geschützter Baubereich*), a measure within the *Berliner Bauordnung*, remains unclear.

11 Julius Posener, "Der Schauplatz Berlin – 750 Jahre Städtebau im Zeitraffer," in *Das neue Berlin: Konzepte der Internationalen Bauausstellung 1987 für einen Städtebau mit Zukunft*, ed. Dankwart Guratzsch (Berlin: Mann, 1987), 31. Author's translation. "Repairing" as a term for modernization and restoring a city's urbanity gained both metaphorical and practical meaning in the renewal discourse. While Hämer talks about repair and means just that, Posener was probably also referring to James Stirling's dictum on his Meinekestraße design (1977) which consisted of proper infill and the densification of the dispersed postwar urban fabric. See Heinrich Klotz, "Modelle für eine Stadt," in *Gestaltung einer neuen Umwelt: Kritische Essays zur Architektur der Gegenwart*, Heinrich Klotz (Luzern, Frankfurt/Main: Bucher, 1978). The former was the first article of the so-called *Stadtreparatur* (urban repair) series edited by later-to-be publisher Wolf Jobst Siedler in the *Berliner Morgenpost* newspaper. On the use of the term in historic preservation discourse since the 1970s, see Hans-Rudolf Meier, "Stadtreparatur und Denkmalpflege," *Die Denkmalpflege* 2 (2008), 105–117.

12 Heinrich Klotz, "Berlin – Alt und Neu," in *Gestaltung einer neuen Umwelt. Kritische Essays zur Architektur der Gegenwart*, Heinrich Klotz (Luzern, Frankfurt/Main: Bucher, 1978), 103f. Author's translation.

13 Klotz's take on the contested issue of preservation and the European Heritage Year is reflected in the book *Keine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit,* which he co-authored with Roland Günter and Gottfried Kiesow and which served as a kind of counter-publication to the well-known official German catalogue of the Heritage Year, *Eine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit*. See Roland Günter, Gottfried Kiesow, Heinrich Klotz, *Keine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit: Denkmalpflege und Stadtzerstörung* (Gießen: W. Schmitz, 1975).

14 André Corboz, "Re-Animation: Alte Gebäude für neue Funktionen," in *Entwerfen in der historischen Straße*, ed. Martina Schneider (Berlin: Abakon 1976), 20–28.

15 Christian Norberg-Schulz, "Genius Loci," in *Entwerfen in der historischen Straße*, ed. Schneider, 12–19.

16 Hartmut Engel, "Der Rahmen der Aufgabe. Historische Stadtgestalt und Stadterneuerung," in *Entwerfen in der historischen Straße*, ed. Schneider, 29–39.

17 Norberg-Schulz, "Genius Loci," 17.

18 Engel, "Der Rahmen der Aufgabe," 31.

19 See Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm, "Geschichte und Besonderheiten der Kreuzberger Mischung," in *Kreuzberger Mischung: Die innerstädtische Verflechtung von Architektur, Kultur und Gewerbe*, eds. Karl-Heinz Fiebig, Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm, Eberhard Knödler-Bunte (Berlin: Verlag Ästhetik und Kommunikation, 1984), 9–20.

20 "Luisenstadt 115," in *Internationale Bauausstellung 1987: Projektübersicht* (Berlin: Bausstellung Berlin GmbH, 1987), 224.

21 The groups, of course, represent an ideal opposition of two poles. During the different phases of the design process, research and design methods constantly switch perspectives, at times being more deductive or more inductive. The classification presented here refers to the final stage of the design proposal, identifying the predominant approach.

22 Vittorio Gregotti, in *Entwerfen in der historischen Straße*, ed. Schneider, 52–65.

23 See Alison and Peter Smithson, "The 'As Found' and the 'Found,'" *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty*, ed. David Robbins (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1990), 201f. The concept of the "as found" is closely connected with the work of Alison and Peter Smithson and was first introduced into architectural discourse by Reyner Banham in the 1950s. At first, "as found" referred to the socio-spatial awareness of the everyday as shown in the exhibition *Parallel of Life and Art*. Banham used the term to characterize the Smithson's early "new brutalist" architecture, which presented the building material rough and bare, just "as found." See Stefania Kenley, "A Shift of Perception in Postwar Architectural Culture," *Nordic Journal of Architecture* (2011) 10–17.

24 Alison Smithson, "Architecture as Found," in *Entwerfen in der historischen Straße*, ed. Schneider, 75.

25 Peter M. Bode, "Potemkin wusste es besser," *Der Spiegel* 44 (1975), 228–232.

26 See Michael Gaenssler, ed., *Neues Bauen in alter Umgebung: Eine Ausstellung der Bayerischen Architektenkammer und der Neuen Sammlung München* (München: Bayerische Architektenkammer, 1978).

27 See Michael S. Falser's critical account of the heritage year: Michael S. Falser, *Zwischen Identität und Authentizität: Zur politischen Geschichte der Denkmalpflege in Deutschland* (Dresden: Thelem, 2008), 99–105.

28 At the forefront of this change of focus were the workers' settlement initiatives in the Ruhrgebiet. Not only did they fight to retain distinctive examples of well-functioning reform housing projects from the heyday of the mining and steel industry, but they also changed the agenda of the preservation bureaucracy, opening the lists and inventories for what is now called industrial heritage.

29 For a discussion of the resource paradigm in historic preservation see Johannes Warda, "Architektur reparieren in der 'Wegwerfgesellschaft': Zur ressourcenökonomischen Dimension des Denkmalbegriffs," in *Knappheit, Mangel, Überfluss: Zum Umgang mit begrenzten Ressourcen. Kulturwissenschaftliche Positionen*, eds. Maria Grewe and Markus Tauschek (Frankfurt/Main: Campus 2015), 309–326.